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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Editor: James W. Ivy
Editorial Advisory Board: Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, Carl Murphy

Vol. 66, No. 3 **Whole Number 561**

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MARCH, 1959

COVER

Thurgood Marshall, Jr. ("Goody") is the son of director-counsel, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., Thurgood Marshall, Sr. Born on August 12, 1956, "Goody," a junior life member of the NAACP, is pointing at his NAACP life membership plaque.

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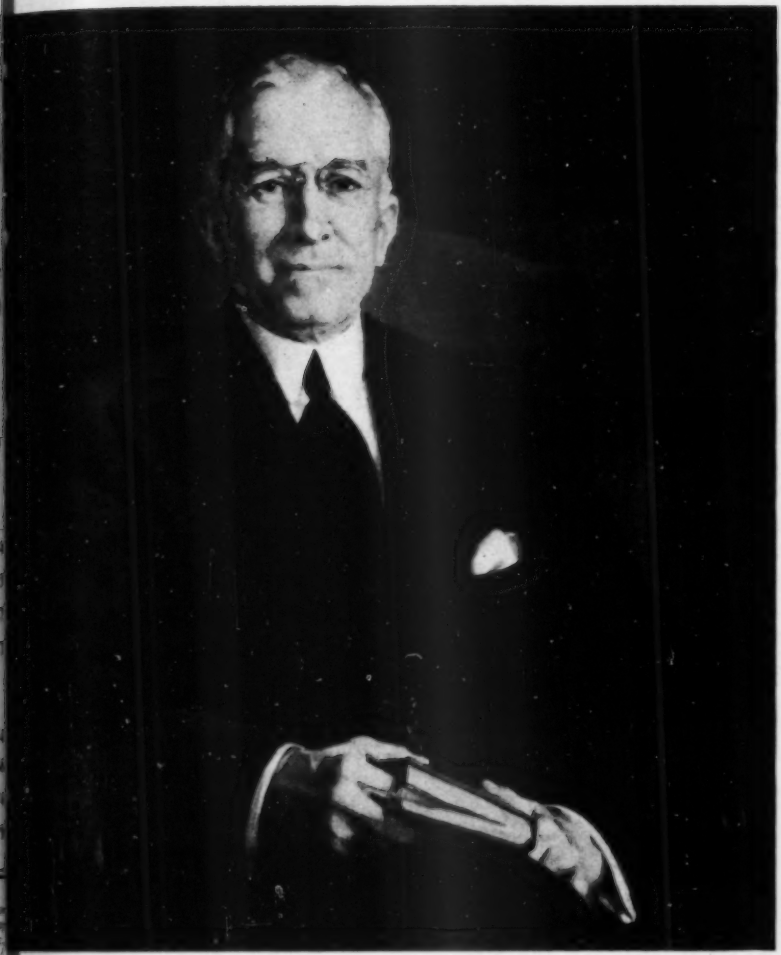

REVEREND JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, *founder and pastor emeritus of the Community Church of New York, was one of the signers of The Call, written by Oswald Garrison Villard. In his autobiography,* I Speak for Myself, *Dr. Holmes says: "The National Association marks the third and triumphant period in the history of the free Negro in America."*

■ **Here is the familiar southern rhetorical argument that integration means miscegenation**

Virginia Gov. Defends Segregation . . .

My Fellow Virginians:

I AM grateful for the privilege of this brief appearance to discuss with you some aspects of the constitutional crisis shackled upon us by a judicial oligarchy and its shocking and terrible impact on our public school system.

Gov. Almond

Throughout this struggle Virginia has fought to preserve and defend her rights vouchsafed to her under and within the framework of the Constitution of the United States. On the highest plane of honor, inherent conviction and loftiness of ideals and principle she has sought only to maintain those rights reserved by her and her sister states, and which have never been delegated, forfeited or surrendered to the Federal Government. Her loyalty to our federated system of government as ordained by the Constitution is woven with indestructible thread into the heart and fiber of her people. A combination of forces motivated by political expediency, armed with arrogant power and inimical to our constitutional system, has advanced with ruthless tread to strike down and destroy the right of the people of this State to have a voice in the education of their children. This is lamentably true, notwithstanding the indisputable fact that the fundamental law of the land embraced and protected the use and enjoyment of this right for nearly a century. The right is now denied through the process of judicial legislation amendatory of the Constitution in contravention thereof, and in violation of the oath to uphold and defend it.

Without reference to the people as the Constitution requires, it is de-

(*Continued on page* 188)

This article is an address delivered by Governor J. Lindsay Almond of Virginia on January 20.

■ This rebuttal points out the fallacies in Governor Almond's position

NAACP Attorney Offers a Rebuttal

Ladies and Gentlemen:

ON behalf of the Virginia State Conference of NAACP Branches, myself and many other vocal and non-vocal opponents of racial segregation, I thank the management of TV Station WXEX for affording me this opportunity to express some of our views in opposition to those expressed by Governor Almond on last Tuesday night, January 20, 1959, in which he attempted to justify and seek support for the continued denial by the State of Virginia of the constitutional rights of Negro school children to a non-segregated public school education.

Atty. Hill

It is impossible, in the generous but brief amount of time allocated, to point out all of the fallacies in the position of the segregationists and, therefore, I will direct my efforts to two or three points.

One of the arguments advanced by Governor Almond, and generally asserted by supporters of racial segregation in public schools, is that the United States Supreme Court in its 1954 decision in the School Segregation Cases usurped the function of the state and unlawfully interfered with its operation of its public schools. This is the states rights argument and implicit in this argument is the erroneous idea that the foundation of American democracy rests upon the doctrine of states rights.

A careful consideration of the political history of the United States and of Virginia will clearly demonstrate the fallacies of this argument.

The underlying philosophy of the

(*Continued on page* 183)

OLIVER W. HILL is chairman of the Legal Committee of the Virginia State Conference of NAACP Branches. His address was delivered on January 25 over TV Station WXEX, Richmond, Virginia.

Cecil Layne

JULIAN GILBERT CHEROT, *age 8, and Nicholas Maurice Cherot, 11, display their NAACP junior life membership plaques after becoming the first two fully-paid junior life members in New York City who are brothers. Julian and Nicholas are the sons of Romeo A. Cherot of New York City.*

■ Despite the headlines, peaceful procedures in integration are making headway in the South

Integration Trends in the South*

By Marion A. Wright

THIS experience has for me the spice of novelty. Those of us in the South who occasionally talk to southern audiences have always the consciousness that, while the handful of people out front may approve, the community most assuredly does not. The walls hardly deflect the outer waves of hostility. One has to reflect upon the jeopardy to a tax-exempt status in which his words may place certain organizations. There is always the possibility that one or two grim and vengeful spies may be present to record and distort his more innocuous platitudes for the White Citizens Councils. It is, therefore, a relief to look over this happy and well fed group and see no face that could remotely be described as grim or vengeful.

I am not, however, so far carried away by this delightful circumstance that I omit a customary precaution. No representative of NAIRO or the Southern Regional Council or any other group has conspired or confederated with me in the preparation of these remarks or has any responsibility for them — "An ill-favored thing, Sir, but mine own."

It is a further happy circumstance that the topic "Integration Trends in the South" calls for the talents of the observer or the historian rather than those of the prophet. About May 17, 1954, the date of the Decision, we were making predictions. These had to do with the strength of the opposition and the rate of speed. I hope none of you made book on your rosy estimates; if so, you took heavy losses. We sadly underestimated the opposition and overestimated the speed. So we have about gone out of the prediction business.

MARION A. WRIGHT, vice president of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., delivered this speech on November 19, 1958, before the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Reprinted by the permission of NAIRO.

SOME PROGRESS

We were not wrong at all points. In common with the rest of the country, we felt that segregation would curl up at the edges; that the border states, having advantage of neighborly contact with integrated commonwealths, having relatively small Negro populations and no plantation background, would go first and easily. That predictation has stood up except in the case of Virginia, which has thus far been held in line by the iron hand of the Byrd machine.

Since the May 17 decision there has been integration in degree ranging from the merely token to full and bona fide in the southern states of Arkansas, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas; the border states of west Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri, and Oklahoma, and the District of Columbia. In terms of school districts the number integrated is some 800 out of a total of 2,890. And, in terms of Negro children in "integrated situations", as the phrase is, the number is 400,000 out of a total of 3,000,000. These figures, I am sure, are familiar to you but I like to recite them. They are evidences of solid progress and re-assuring reminders that peaceful and statesmanlike procedures do not make headlines. "Happy the people whose annals are dull."

In passing, and in order to wring the last drop of comfort from the southern situation, let us salute Florida, which in September admitted the first Negro student to its law school, and Louisiana, which in the same month first admitted 59 Negroes as undergraduates in a white state college. Perhaps we should more appropriately salute the federal court which directed these admissions. But at least Florida and Louisiana have bowed gracefully to the inevitable. Grace in race relations is so rare as to deserve applause.

Apart from the public schools in the "hard core" states, desegregation is making, if not satisfactory, at least substantial, progress. It now appears, not only from what meets the eye, but from utterances of segregation leaders themselves, that, in practically all other areas except the public schools, segregation is withering with no impressive effort being made to keep it alive. Cities and states in most instances have taken lickings on golf courses, parks, transportation, and the like and have accepted the result. Of course, we hear of the golf course that is closed but a dozen others remain open to both races. There is nothing approaching "massive resistance" in those fringe areas of the segregation problem.

In their back-to-the-wall stand on integration of the public schools, the seven hard-core states are now pursuing a new and significant strategy. The early effort of the segregationist leaders was to move and stir *Southern* opinion to the point of open opposition to the law. That was a thoroughly ignoble but fairly easy task. More recently they have embarked upon a much more ambitious enterprise—and I think you who live out of the South should be quite aware of it. They now seek to subject the public opinion of North, East, and West to the segregationist view. Of course, they don't call it that. They refer to it as education in states' rights, limitations of judi-

cial power, and other euphonious terms. But what they mean is the preservation of a caste system in the South. Under one name or another your aid — you non-southerners — your aid is now being actively sought. It's an old story—Confederates capturing Yankees.

MOVEMENT WELL FINANCED

The movement to convert you is well financed and well organized. Certain states have their propaganda bureaus financed by public funds as well as by anti-labor, money, and reactionary subsidies. They pour out pamphlets by the hundreds of thousands. They send speakers on foreign missions. They flatter and fawn upon northern papers or writers who abet their plan. This effort should not be taken lightly. Already certain northern columnists, magazines, and newspapers follow the segregationist line. The effort to limit the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court failed by one vote in the Senate. And, most unkindest of all, the chief justices of the state supreme courts gave that effort their implied support.

There is something quite persuasive in this new southern approach to the rest of the nation. In the first place, the rest of the nation hasn't perfectly solved its own integration problem. Our sense of generosity finds expression in the twin ideas "Who am I to tell you how to run your affairs?" and "I can appreciate fully what you are up against in the South." And, lamentably, there are many Americans in all sections of the country who are not democratic at heart. They listen with a sympathetic ear.

This invitation of the North—a kind of second march on Gettysburg —presents one of the anomalies of the times. This is the age of the sputnik. Each day the range of our interests is extended. Each day we become more acutely aware of the inter-dependence of men upon each other. We become more conscious of involvement of our own destinies with the destinies of men in the world's remotest corners. There is daily borne in upon us the essential unity and indivisibility of mankind with the result that what affects one affects all.

In such a context how like a voice from the Dark Ages is the white supremacist's whimpering plea that you in the North have no concern with what happens to your Negro brothers of the South! That you have no license to be heard! That your endeavor to influence the southern situation is impertinent meddling in a matter of only local interest and significance!

Certainly you will not fall for that argument. Only one far gone in schizophrenia can embrace at the same time a sense of international civic responsibility and the provincialism of the segregation philosophy.

BEWARE SOFT SEDUCTIONS

You who share the world's revulsion at the Russian treatment of Boris Pasternak will hardly remain indifferent to the stern fate of hundreds of lesser Pasternaks in the South who think and write and teach and preach and speak at their peril.

There is, then, this trend, this effort to sell the segregation cause to the non-southerner. Beware of its soft seductions.

You may not know it but you are being wooed by Senator Eastland and Senator Thurmond. We hope there shall be no betrothal; certainly no marriage, and, as to issue, God forbid!

There is another trend which might well undergo some examination. In this connection I use "trend" as an evolution from the simple to the complex.

Following the Supreme Court decision there came from certain governors, senators, congressmen and others highly placed, declarations that their states would not observe the law. One law, the law relating to integration of the public schools. A new phrase crept into our speech —"massive resistance"—and two old ideas were resurrected after 100 years of quiet repose—"nullification" and "interposition". I wish to emphasize that the proponents of such views had in mind a purely limited objective, non-compliance with one single law, not public rebellion against all law.

They employed all of their cunning to develop methods of preserving a segregated system — private schools with state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment acts, local control, complicated legal steps to be taken by aggrieved parties, redistricting and all the rest of a list of onerous maneuvers. One by one these devices come before the court and are branded as the transparent frauds they are.

Such was the pin-pointed objective and such were the methods of attaining it.

But, of course, basically, what they advocate is disrespect for law.

ONE LAW WANTED

They choose to limit such advocacy to one law. But when you enter the area of disrespect there is no such thing as a limited infection. It spreads. What right have they to tell me what laws I shall observe? My right of choice is fully as good as theirs. They choose to flout school law. I may, with as much right, choose to flout the law which protects the life and property of the man who disagrees with me. They seek to get results by chicanery. Men less subtle and sophisticated may perforce get their results by violence.

The bomb is aimed at integration of the schools. But whither drifts the fall-out? It drifts, in part, into the mind and heart of the ignorant, the unlettered, the evilly disposed. When cunning and sly maneuvers have had their day, when all legal tactics are exhausted, when what passes for intelligence has failed—what is the *untutored* citizen to do? Well, he has his fists, doesn't he? He has dynamite. He has torches. There rings in his ears the voice of authority telling him segregation must be preserved. So he uses the only tools he knows.

So we have proceeded inevitably from the rolling phrases of a governor, through the subtleties of legislation, to repression, cross-burning, assaults, bombings and murder. Through all these evil and sometimes bloody acts there runs the dark thread of connection. The official policy of resistance to one law was the bomb. Foul and dastardly deeds are the inevitable fall-out.

Then how crocodile are the tears of the segregationist public officials

who weep at violence! Actually there is blood on their hands.

These leaders are careful to point out that they do not condone violence. Concededly, there are points of difference between violence and legislative or official maneuvering, as there is between highway robbery and embezzlement. The motive in both instances is identical—to deprive a person of his property. So, in the civil-rights field, with violence or legal duplicity, the motive is identical—to deprive a person of a right.

I am not at all sure that the points of difference are favorable to the officials. Acts of violence may often be dismissed as the impulsive and unthinking conduct of brutish men. But your legislative maneuverers—your private school men, your state subsidy, tuition grants, pupil assignment, local control, gerrymandering men—have no such claim upon our consideration. They are trained and skilled and cunning men. They plot their schemes, mull over them, debate them for weeks on end. There is malice aforethought, always more to be condemned than the impulsive act.

MORAL ASPECTS

Bad as it may be, what is done by the poor devil who burns a cross or plants a bomb is his individual act, in no sense committing or involving his state. But what is done by men in governor' mansions or legislative halls becomes state policy, carrying with it all the sanction and authority of a state. It seems almost blasphemous that men should use the sacred power of a state for such ignoble ends.

So the fall-out from the bomb of resistance to one law has borne in its trail resistance to any law one does not like. Carried to its logical conclusion, the end result would be anarchy.

It was considerations such as these which motivated the Supreme Court decision in the recent Little Rock case. That decision means that there is to be no surrender to mob action, no compromise in the national effort to give an equal chance to every American child. More importantly, it made a point which should not be lost on every rebellious state. That is, that the court is not deceived by southern evasive maneuvers. The hard core states now know they cannot win by subterfuge and evasion.

There is a moral aspect to such procedures. The legal qualities upon which the resisting states have relied have been cunning, slickness, shrewdness. (We have just witnessed the taming of the shrewd.) Such have been the qualities magnified in the public mind and held up as ideals before young lawyers and politicians. We now know they are no substitutes for brain, intelligence, and character. The truly great lawyer or statesman is not slick: he is profound.

We may now return to our former conception of what are honorable courses for states to pursue.

Such is the meaning of the recent decision. Such is the hand-writing upon the wall. Those who can't read it should go to school—an integrated school, or course.

You will be told by many that race relations in the South have become worse as a result of the 1954 decisions in the school segregation

cases. Proponents of that view point to clashes which have occurred and say that, but for the decisions, this would not have happened.

For the sake of argument let us concede the facts. What do they imply? They imply that there was latent in some areas of the South racial ill-will amounting to hostility or even hatred. But it was unexpressed; it did not come to boiling point. It had no normal outlet. Hence, it perpetually simmered and smouldered. I am, of course, not an expert in the field, but I have a feeling that any good psychiatrist would tell us that such pent-up hatreds wreak great damage to personality. Relief comes from "getting things off our chests". The last four years have been a period of catharsis, of cleansing and purging ourselves of this foul accumulation of fancied spites and grievances. We may in the future be less neurotic because for once and at long last we have spouted the venom we have harbored.

Whenever we made it possible for every man to air publicly a logical grievance we have contributed to community sanity.

Race relations seem worse because their ugly aspects have been revealed. They were just as ugly when unseen. Dirt under the rug is still dirt.

PRESENT TRENDS

But let us return to trends. The all-embracive trend in the hard-core states—the one of which all others are satellites—is the trend toward tyranny. In the use of that term I speak by the book.

The first badge of tyranny is that it establishes or maintains itself by suspension of legal or constitutional guaranties. It does so for the basic reason of self-preservation. It cannot exist where such guaranties are in full vigor. As William Pitt remarked, "Where law ends, tyranny begins." The tyrant or dictator wishes to impose his own will upon mankind but there stands the Law, changing and undissuadable, between him and the citizen. So the Law must first be struck down.

There might be infinite multiplication of instances of dictatorships created or maintained by suspension or revocation of rights guaranteed by constitutions. Illustrations leap out from every one of history's more unsavory and grisly chapters. Indeed, the generalization might be ventured that no dictatorship or tyranny is ever created except by first striking down the constitutional safeguards which surround the citizen. For the suppression of individual rights is of the essence of tyranny. It is impossible to imagine suppression without tyranny.

There is the second badge of tyranny. It is the hostility which tyranny feels for established and respected courts and judicial process. (We must keep in mind that tyranny may mark the conduct of an individual, a group or government itself.)

What stands between the tyrant and the citizen, as we have noted, is law, usually the Constitution. The instrument through which Law or Constitution speaks is the Court. The Law impinges upon mankind, not more because it exists than because the Court has given it voice.

The will of the dictator is thwart-

ed, if at all, because of what the Court has declared the law to be. In its final analysis, the inevitable clash is not between two abstractions, Dictatorship and Law, but between Dictatorship personified in the Court. Such was the recent conflict in Washington.

So, the character, composition and powers of courts are matters of profound and unholy concern to dictators. An independent judiciary, able, learned and incorruptible, is anathema to the dictator. To him the Court alone may say, "Thus far and no further shall you go." In his hot quest of power, in his trampling upon human rights, the sole agency to challenge the dictator's will is these interpreters of the Law. So upon them war is declared.

SOUTHERN TYRANNY

Such, then, historically, are the methods of tyrants or demagogues. (The terms may be used interchangeably.) The formula is simple: By decree or legislative act strike down constitutional guaranties; and undermine confidence in courts to the point that their decrees have no public acceptance. Either alone would probably be effective. Taken together they inevitably insure the temporary success of tyranny, whether it be the tyranny of an individual, a clique or a majority. Under such a regime the rights of a minority are doomed.

What we have experienced in certain areas of the South in the past four years is nothing less than tyranny. There has been suspension of rights guaranteed by the Constitution. In many instances this has been affirmative action — constitutional amendment, statutory enactment, proclamations by governors, resolutions by school boards, and the like. In other instances, there has been negative suspension — a failure to uphold or support constitutional rights. There is no difference in morals or practical affect. In either case rights have been lost or destroyed. One struck by lightning is only academically interested in whether the bolt was positive or negative electricity.

If the shades of Joseph Stalin, or Benito Mussolini, or Adolph Hitler, could crawl up to the edge of the pit and survey the southern scene, they would confer their benediction upon much of what there transpires.

The books must now be purged and cleansed of all legal perversions written into them by bigotry. This is primarily the job of us in the South. The school laws; teacher's oaths; laws requiring that the NAACP bare its membership; anti-barratry laws aimed at the NAACP; laws setting up so-called anti-subversion committees—the whole breed of repressive statutes—by last count 169—must be erased. That is largely a southern job. And there are southerners willing to undertake it.

In view of the former apathy of the administration and the solid phalanx presented by governments of the resisting states, it is remarkable that liberal voices should now be heard anywhere in the South. On the contrary, they are at this moment louder and clearer than ever. Those urging compliance with law are now more militant than ever. This is no mere rhetoric. I give you the specifics.

WICKED SCHEMES DENOUNCED

In the first few weeks following the May 17, 1954, decision, journals of certain southern university law schools carried scholarly articles by professors analyzing the proposed evasive schemes and condemning them all upon constitutional grounds. Their authors—men like Francis B. Nicholson, of South Carolina; Warren E. Guerke, of Emory, and Jay Murphy, of Alabama—exhibited not only scholarship but courage. They stood alone—eggheads.

But observe the effect of a good example. In Little Rock a few days ago 61 lawyers of that city signed a statement condemning as unconstitutional Governor Faubus' private school plan. Those men were not eggheads. They were run-of-the-mine lawyers and they uttered the ancient and honored principles of the law.

Also, in those calm and reflective days of 1954, a few church bodies—synods, dioceses, conventions and the like—adopted supporting resolutions. They disturbed no one. They were far away and remote. They could do no harm. Let those men at the top resolve. But, observe! In Arkansas and Virginia and elsewhere in the South ministers of all faiths, pastors of small churches in the very eye of the storm, have recently confronted governors and senators and denounced their wicked schemes. They uttered the ancient and honored principles of religion.

So your parent-teacher Associations of not too long ago might have been thought of as well-meaning and innocuous. But when the closing of public schools became a fact or imminent, the gentle folk who composed the associations were not overawed or daunted by the entrenched power of a state. They challenged the prevailing lunacy.

I might go on: concerned taxpayers, public school children themselves—you have seen them on TV. Public opinion in favor of compliance with law is more militant today than at any time since the original decision. From being the view of a handful of so-called do-gooders, advocacy of compliance is now a grass-roots phenomenom.

We may thank Governor Faubus and Governor Almond for that. So long as the fate of public education was a matter of idle speculation, those actually or potentially liberal were disposed to remain inactive, noncommitted. But when it became evident that the two states stood upon the very brink—to use a term from Mr. Dulles—when it appeared that the alternatives were to do complete justice on the one hand or to destroy public schools on the other, the silent became vocal, the hesitant became bold.

REBELLION WITHOUT DIGNITY

There is also a national job and I appeal to you in NAIRO as being the one group pre-eminently qualified by training, experience and motivation to prod the national conscience and rouse the great giant, which is America, from its lethargy. Certainly, the demands of the moment cannot be met merely by a court. That is employing only one third of the national power and energy. The executive branch has its role. Congress has its role. For all three arms of the government there

is good fighting all along the line.

Consider with me for a moment the situation in stark and unvarnished terms, stripped of all its tawdry pretensions. The Supreme Court has held that racial segregation in public education is unconstitutional. But four years after the event seven southern states declare they will not obey the law. That is rebellion without the dignity of formal secession.

Certain school districts wish to comply with the law. They are told, in some instances, if you do, state funds will be cut off; and in others, we will close your doors. That is blackmail by state action. No idle threat either, as Governor Faubus and Governor Almond have proven.

Presented with a choice between ignorance and honor, they have chosen ignorance.

Negro children seek to exercise a constitutional right. They turn to the one great organization qualified to help. That organization is beset with a series of state actions designed to cripple it or to force its suspension. That is sabotage of an honorable agency whose sole mission is to secure judicial determination of legal rights.

So, if we were morbid enough, we could run the entire gamut of repression.

Certainly, such activities are not matters of merely local concern. I say to you from North, East, and West that your own welfare, your own destiny, hang in the balance. The bright image of America as a land of equal opportunity, of concern for the rights of the individual, of the open door to merit and worth—that image is being marred and defaced. I know of no more serious indictment of a nation than that it permitted school doors to be slammed in the face of an aspiring child.

HOW TO AID CAUSE

At the last session of the Congress Senator Douglas and associates introduced a bill which, if enacted, would have marshalled the government's united power in aid of the liberal elements of the South. I have time only to point out that, among other features, it provided federal funds for school districts whose state aid was cut off because of their compliance with law. What a different situation we might have in Arkansas and Virginia if such were the law.

While, admittedly, law will not solve everything, the Douglas, or some similar bill, must be enacted. A lone Negro child, seeking a right under the Constitution, a qualified person seeking to register to vote, a skilled and qualified workman seeking a job — these must not be left to pit their puny strength against the massed power of a state. The federal government should not be a callous spectator of such unequal conflicts. Just a word as to what you beyond the South may do to aid the cause! First, and negatively, don't succumb to the argument that you are outsiders meddling in other people's affairs. We must never overlook the dual nature of citizenship in this country. The Negro children knocking upon school doors may be citizens of South Carolina or Louisiana. They are no less citizens of the United States of America. There are rights under the *American* constitution

they seek to assert. They do so as *your* fellow-citizens. In that view, your concern is fully as acute as the concern of a native-born white citizen of South Carolina or Louisiana.

Keep always in mind that what is happening in certain areas of the South is a suspension of guaranties of the *American Constitution*. The suspension is as real as if proclaimed by a formal edict of a dictator. Such a suspension, whether formally proclaimed or not, is an act of tyranny. No American citizen has the right to acquiesce in tyranny.

All rights guaranteed by the constitution are of equal sanctity. The right of school attendance is as sacred as freedom of the press. There is no moral difference between closing school doors and closing printing presses. One will lead to the other.

Finally, the white southern liberal is acutely vulnerable. He bucks the truly formidable power of his state; quite often he bucks community, friends, family. He is apt to be lonely. Don't wash your hands of him. Let him at all times be sustained by the consciousness that, in those areas of his land where men are not so stirred by the passions of the moment, there are understanding and sympathy.

Mrs. Beulah Young, president of the Civic and Study Club of Salt Lake City, is the first NAACP life member in the state of Utah. She makes an initial $200 payment to Albert Fritz, president of the Salt Lake City branch.

■ The NAACP's answer to the NBC news commentator's editorial proposal of February 1, 1959

NAACP Secretary Answers Chet Huntley

By Roy Wilkins

FOREWORD

AT the end of an hour-long documentary report on the school desegregation issue in Atlanta on February 1, 1959, Chet Huntley, television commentator of the National Broadcasting Company, came to the astounding conclusion that "there would be more chance of desegregating schools if there were less reliance on the courts and on the federal power," that "the NAACP may have outlived itself," and that "militant Negro leadership must be abandoned."

This proposal, telecast over a major network and viewed and heard by millions of Americans, brought forth prompt and widespread protest. Nothing in the preceding program warranted Mr. Huntley's fantastic editorial conclusion. There was no exploration of the arguments for or against the role of the NAACP in the desegregation struggle and no exposition of the program, purposes or methods of the NAACP. Within less than 20 minutes, NBC had received 225 telephone calls protesting the editorial and only 25 supporting it. By the end of the week the broadcasting company had received some 1200 communications on the program from all sections of the country.

The NAACP promptly asked for an hour in which to refute Mr. Huntley's proposal. NBC countered with an offer of a half-hour program during which various points of view on the desegregation issue would be presented. Still contending that a full hour would be required to answer adequately Mr. Huntley's sweeping assertion, the NAACP agreed to share a half-hour program with the commentator and a southern segregationist.

The program was scheduled for the Chet Huntley Report, 6:30 to 7:00 p.m., EST, Sunday, February 8. Mr. Huntley opened the program with a re-statement of his views. He was followed by Thomas Waring, editor of the Charleston (S.C.) *News and Courier*, who affirmed the die-hard position of the southern segregationists, declared continuing opposition to any measure of integra-

tion in the schools, reiterated the stock segregationist charges against the NAACP, and disparaged Negroes generally.

In a brilliant 10-minute rebuttal, NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins set forth the Association's position, exposed the fallacy of Mr. Huntley's proposal, and demolished the nineteenth-century arguments of Mr. Waring.

In response to popular demand and to preserve the record, the NAACP is publishing Mr. Huntley's editorial of February 1, his remarks on the February 8 program, and Mr. Wilkins' reply.

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN, *President*
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People

CHET HUNTLEY'S PROPOSAL

Mr. Huntley concluded his hour-long NBC News television special, "The Second Agony of Atlanta," Sunday, February 1, 1959, with the following editorial comment:

And so, on inauguration day, the debating ended at least for a while, and Atlanta and the State of Georgia are left in the control of the intransigents. Looking at Georgia, and Arkansas, and other centers of massive resistance where the only immediate result seems to be no education at all, some thinking northerners have been saying recently that school integration should proceed more slowly. I don't think that's what they mean. The record shows that if it proceeded any more slowly, it would not proceed at all. What upsets people is not that schools are being desegregated too fast, but that they are being desegregated too loud—in an atmosphere of increasing tension and conflict, dominated more and more by extreme groups and irresponsible spokesmen.

Those who want schools desegregated claim for their side the law of the land and morality. Those who oppose it claim social tradition—and morality. But never in history has society been changed by law. If it is to be changed—because we believe in the principles which underlie the law—then it must be changed by something else. That something else must be found by taking the issue away from the unyielding elements which have taken control on both sides.

Any reporter who has been in the South as often as I have in recent years, and talked to as many Negro and white Americans about this subject, knows that these other people exist. They have talked to me and to others—in hotel lobbies and railway stations, in formal meetings and on the street—about their concern and their anxiety to do the decent thing. But not in the present atmosphere. Logic would indicate that because it is the Negro who is being deprived and denied, the white community must take the first step. In practical terms, however, precisely because the Negro is being deprived, it is in his interest to make the overture. Rightly or wrongly, present Negro leadership cannot make the opening approach because it will not be accepted. Perhaps as the price of its own success, this leadership must withdraw. I am not sure this is fair, but I suggest there would be more chance for desegre-

gating schools if there were less reliance on the courts and on the federal power. The NAACP may have outlived itself, because the white southerners who must prevail, if anyone will, consider it an unacceptable symbol.

Nor is it fair that militant Negro leadership must be abandoned while militant white leadership can continue. But just as the Negroes have the most to gain, it is they who must make the unfairest sacrifice to achieve it. I also suggest that if militant Negro leadership is removed, militant white leadership will in time atrophy and disappear. I hope I am right. I am not sure. But the intransigents have had the field to themselves up to now, and the results are far from perfect. The others deserve their chance, but they are such people as will not come forward while extreme passions are in control.

I am sure that if the Negroes of America stand—as they can— on the law of the land, the result will be continuing tension and the destruction of at least part of our school system. They will achieve their victory ultimately, perhaps even rapidly, but the price will be a heritage of distrust and conflict that may last as long as the bitterness following the Reconstruction. None of this, however, must be allowed to interfere with the overriding fact that the law of the United States has ordered the desegregation of schools. If this law is ignored or destroyed, then all law is damaged. But there must be some way to preserve the law and preserve the schools. Good evening.

CHET HUNTLEY REPORTING

Sunday, February 8, 1959
NBC TELEVISION

MODERATOR: Chet Huntley
GUESTS: Thomas Waring
Roy Wilkins

HUNTLEY: Good evening. Chet Huntley reporting. This program today varies from our usual form. There will be no film at all. The half hour will be given over to live people expressing points of view and opinions. And as you listen I ask you to keep in mind this sentence from the *Areopagitica* by John Milton: "Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions, for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making."

Last week this program and I showed what is happening in Atlanta, as that city prepared to face the increasing dilemma of southern cities. Should segregated schools be maintained at the price of public education or should some integration be maintained as the price of keeping them alive? The program ended by showing a complete deadlock and it was obvious the free school system would somehow be damaged. This is the deadlock reporters have faced for eighteen months whenever they considered this problem. And my concluding remarks last Sunday were an attempt to suggest a way out of the deadlock.

[Here Mr. Huntley quotes from his statement of February 1.]

Well, those were some of the things, about one-third of them, that I said last Sunday. And I think

I have left in those which caused the most discussion, because discussion there was, and I should like to have it continue today.

I want to make two things clear. First, that my suggestions were not made to prevent the desegregation of southern public schools but to make it easier. And second, that I did not suggest that the NAACP go out of business, but that it withdraw from the school issue where its concentration on victory in court has become, in my opinion, sterile. My interest was, and is, to get all children to school.

We can't encompass all reactions to what was said. The clearest and strongest disagreement came from those who don't want school desegregation at all, and from the NAACP. I've therefore invited an articulate spokesman from each group here today. Mr. Thomas Waring, editor of the Charleston, South Carolina, *News and Courier;* and Mr. Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I have asked each to prepare a ten-minute statement setting forth his reaction to what I said and his position. At the end of nine minutes I shall warn each of them that he has one minute left. We therefore begin with Mr. Thomas Waring, editor of the Charleston, S. C., *News and Courier.*

[Mr. Waring opened his statement with approval of the Huntley proposal that the NAACP withdraw, "but not for the reasons Mr. Huntley has expressed." The South, he said, is opposed to any degree of school integration, "now or later." He devoted the remainder of his period to an attack upon the NAACP, disparagement of Negroes generally, and a justification of the southern opposition.]

MR. WILKINS REPLIES

The second speaker we have invited today is Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP. Mr Wilkins!

ROY WILKINS: Mr. Huntley, I think first of all, Mr. Waring's reference to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and its alleged subversion is probably best answered by J. Edgar Hoover, who is acknowledged to be the authority on communism. In his book, *Masters Of Deceit,* [showing volume to viewers], there is a chapter on "Communism and Minorities," where, on pages 246 and 247, Mr Hoover details how the NAACP is not communist, how it has fought communism, and sets forth the record.

The rest of what Mr. Waring has said, of course, is familiar and will be answered in due course.

But in suggesting that the NAACP remove itself from the desegregation campaign, Mr. Huntley brands it as an "extremist" organization.

On May 22, 1954, five days after the historic Court ruling, Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of our national Board of Directors, sent a policy statement to a meeting of our leaders in Atlanta. This "extremist" message reads as follows: "It is important that calm reasonableness prevail, that the difficulties of adjustment be realized, and that with

out any sacrifice of basic principles, the spirit of give and take characterize the discussions. Let it not be said of us that we took advantage of a sweeping victory to drive hard bargains, or to impose unnecessary hardships upon those responsible for the working out of the details of adjustment."

Accordingly, our very first act was to advise our people to present peaceful petitions to their school boards asking them to devise plans to comply with the Supreme Court ruling. The result was widespread publication in local newspapers of the names and addresses of the petition signers. Two hundred of these names appeared in Mr. Waring's newspaper with addresses. In consequence, individual petitioners lost their jobs, were denied credit, had their mortgages foreclosed, and were in some cases driven out.

The "loud" noise of desegregation, to use Mr. Huntley's phrase, does not come from Negro leaders, or Negro citizens. It comes from southern state legislatures, from southern governors, from some national politicians, from many state and local politicians, from certain daily papers, and from the dynamiters. The "loud" noises Mr. Huntley hears are those of the rending of the Constitution and the tumbling down of the temple of individual rights, America's most sacred shrine.

Negro Americans did not rise up in rebellion in 1896 when the Supreme Court established the separate but equal doctrine in the Louisiana case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson;* yet that decision was an interpretation of the constitutionality of a state railroad segregation law, just as the 1954 decision was an interpretation of state school segregation laws. But Negro citizens lived with the 1896 setback, and with the humiliation and handicaps which jim-crow status imposed upon them. "Separate but equal" became immediately separate but unequal, (as Mr. Waring has admitted when he says if we integrated, the standards of the white schools would fall. They would fall because the white schools have been placed so far out in front of those for Negroes) and this spread from railroad trains to every walk of life.

The NAACP, founded fifty years ago this week, first appeared in the United States Supreme Court in 1915 on a voting registration case, but it was not until 1944, nearly 30 years and many law suits later, that it finally broke through a major legal barrier to the franchise. Now, the franchise battle is not yet won, as Alabama events have demonstrated, but this long struggle illustrates the belief of the NAACP in orderly legal procedure.

Our Association, then, and the Negro, believe in the law, in the Constitution, in the courts of the nation. If that be extremism, then we are extremists. To equate this firm and reasonable adherence to law with the doctrine of defiance which has sprung up since 1954 is to mangle Americanism beyond recognition.

But what of Mr. Huntley's basic contention that if the NAACP, the courts and federal power were withdrawn from the arena there would be more chance for desegregating schools, or his assertion that other elements are anxious "to do the de-

cent thing" but "will not come forward while extreme pasions are in control"?

All the history of race relations in the South refutes this thesis. Never in its history has the South as a region, without outside pressure, taken a step to grant the Negro his citizenship rights. Paternalistic good feeling has existed; individual toleration on a purley personal basis has been in effect. But citizenship rights on an equal basis, no.

A great many southerners want nothing more than that the Negro's destiny shall be left to their decision. This is their historic position. This is their cry today in the school desegregation issue. Nothing in the history of the past five years suggests even faintly that if the NAACP were to bow out, school desegregation would have a better chance of success. No so-called moderate group has ever intimated it would get on with desegregation if the NAACP were not in the picture. There is nothing to prevent these groups, if they exist, from acting at this very moment, if they so desire, for there are hundreds of school districts where no law suits have been filed and hundreds of towns where there is no NAACP unit.

But Mr. Huntley's moderates will not do this, not because they are fearful of the NAACP, but because they are fearful of the extremists among their own people, those who counsel defiance and preach hatred, and encourage violence. If this element is to be left in undisputed dominance, it will not atrophy, as Mr. Huntley hopefully imagines. It will flourish, and genuine moderates will find that they have been undercut and abandoned, their future efforts rendered futile.

One such moderate, Albert Barnett of Decatur, Georgia, wrote in *The Christian Century*, May 30, 1956: "As a southerner, I am thankful for the NAACP. The NAACP seeks the implementation of rights guaranteed in the Constitution by strictly legal processes. . . . In no case has 'privilege' surrendered of its own accord. Nor will it. If to 'go slow' is to relax pressure through the courts and the public opinion, no social change will be effected."

Yes, the diehards want to remove the NAACP from the picture, not to speed desegregation, but to halt it completely.

Mr. Huntley suggests that another Negro leadership might find a better reception than the Association. Where is such a leadership? A 1957 survey by *Catholic Digest* magazine found 93 per cent of American Negro citizens in agreement with the NAACP. We have no doubt as to whether we are backed or not, or whether there is a split. And the best testimony is that southerners have not found any considerable segment of the Negro population on which they can fasten and claim that it disagrees with this position. The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Alabama, the National Urban League, the Negro church and the Negro press have been pilloried, persecuted, and rejected because they have stood firmly with us.

Now, Mr. Huntley flatly declares that never in history has society been changed by law. Does anyone seriously maintain that the Magna

Carta did not change society, or, say, that the Code of Hammurabi had no effect on mankind? It cannot be denied that even the 1896 decision profoundly affected society in America.

Mr. Huntley argues that the product of dependence upon the courts is closed schools, tension and violence. The NAACP is uncompromisingly opposed to closing any schools. We regard this as disastrous in the face of the Soviet challenge. But this has been a condition which white citizens have imposed upon themselves. We did not thrust it upon them, nor upon their bewildered young people. No colored man sits in any southern state legislature. No vote of ours decreed the closing of schools.

If it is contended that Negro Americans should renounce their constitutional rights, and the redress of their grievances in the courts, we believe this is more than anyone has a right to ask of a people. It amounts to a request that we and our children sit by the side of the road while others zoom past us into the space age.

We cannot do it, and we shall not do it. We would have no right to be Americans, or to enjoy the respect of our fellows, or to receive the love and honor of our children if we voluntarily accept a lesser status.

As for violence, we have been the victims, not the perpetrators. We reject violence and place our faith in order and law. And tensions are a part of great social change. They have been throughout history, and they will be in the future. All good citizens hope for decreased tensions on this issue.

But in the words of Charles L. Black, a Texan on the Yale Law School faculty: "No social evil of this hugeness and long-rootedness can be plucked out without pain." Every thoughtful American with a spark of fair play in his veins (and this includes thousands of white people in the Deep South) wants this issue settled in justice under law. Any other method would betray not merely Negro citizens, but the moral giant that is America, our country, man's best hope for a free life in this mid-century's fresh threats of dark dictatorship.

HUNTLEY: That was Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Before he spoke, we presented the statement of Thomas Waring, editor of the Charleston (S.C.) *News and Courier*. Mr. Wilkins and Mr. Waring appeared on this program today to present their comments on a statement I made last Sunday on the NBC News special program, "The Second Agony of Atlanta."

NBC POLICY STATEMENT

Good evening.

ANNOUNCER: Today's program was intended to further a public discussion which began with remarks make by Chet Huntley last Sunday. Mr. Huntley's remarks were his conclusions on an important public question and included a suggestion for a course of action in the future.

It is the policy of NBC News that its own commentators who are experienced and responsible reporters may express their opinions on news developments as long as it is ap-

(*Continued on page* 163)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

CELEBRATES 50th ANNIVERSARY

THE nation's largest and most effective civil rights organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary (February 12, 1909—February 12, 1959) on Thursday, February 12.

The Association, now with more than 300,000 members in 44 states and the District of Columbia, was organized as the result of a historic call issued by 53 prominent Negro and white publicists, social workers, clergymen, educators and philanthropists on February 12, 1909, the centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. Of the 53 signers, only two now survive—Dr. W. E. B. Dubois, writer and historian, and Rev. John Haynes Holmes, paster emeritus of the Community Church of New York.

The call was the idea of Mary White Ovington, a young New York social worker, who was deeply shocked when she read William English Walling's account of a bloody race riot in August 1908, in Lincoln's home city, Springfield, Illinois. Walling's article, published in the *Independent* magazine, indicated the need for a "large and powerful body of citizens" to defend the rights of Negroes.

Inspired by her Abolitionist background and taking her cue from Walling's proposal, Miss Ovington enlisted the cooperation of the author of the article; of Dr. Henry Moskowitz, a fellow social worker; of Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of William Loyd Garrison and publisher of the *New York Evening Post* and of *The Nation;* and of others. Together they decided to issue a call for "a national conference for discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty."

In response to this call nearly 300 white and Negro men and women from all sections of the country met in New York City, May 31 and June 1, 1909. It was at this conference that the basic policies and program to which the NAACP still adheres were formulated. Villard presented to the conference a blueprint providing for an organization to combat racial discrimination and segregation through legal action, legislation, and publicity. These remain the primary channels through which the Association continues to conduct its broad scaled program designed to eliminate racial inequities.

CIVIL RIGHTS AT LOW EBB

When Miss Ovington conceived the idea for an NAACP, the civil rights

of the Negro were at a low ebb. Hardly a week passed without one or more lynchings. Racial segregation had been sanctioned by the United States Supreme Court and seemed a permanent pattern. Negroes were generally denied access to public accommodations not only in the South but also elsewhere in the country, states' civil rights laws notwithstanding. Negro achievement was seldom mentioned in the big daily papers or in nationally circulated magazines.

Although there were militant individual Negroes, and short-lived organized groups, as well as the Negro church and press, to challenge the rising tide of racism, the sustained, nationally coordinated, systematic and fruitful attack upon racial discrimination, segregation and deprivation of civil rights awaited the organization of the NAACP. This crusade, launched on the centennial of the birth of the Great Emancipator, has been productive of results which few Americans envisioned in 1909. The association has survived two world wars, a major economic depression, and the continuing and bitter opposition of organized bigotry.

NAACP STRONGER THAN EVER

After 50 years of fighting for freedom, the NAACP is today stronger than ever. Its name is known throughout the country and its fame has extended to Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America. Its influence is recognized even by those who most bitterly oppose its program. It enjoys substantial moral approval and the sustaining financial support of the Negro community. In the first year of operation, the NAACP proposed a budget of $6,500. The 1959 budget calls for $846,000. Income from all sources in 1958 exceeded, for the first time, the million-dollar mark. In the 50-year period, the NAACP has made notable progress up Freedom Road.

Largely as a result of NAACP efforts, lynching has become an obsolete crime; segregation in public facilities, institutions and services has been outlawed; Negroes are again voting in the South; the right to live where one wishes and can afford to has been affirmed by court decisions and by state and city legislation; the Negro's right to serve on juries has been established; fair employment practices statutes have been enacted in 15 states and 26 cities; a civil rights act has been passed by Congress for the first time in 82 years; and a more favorable climate of opinion has been developed.

Contributing to this achievement have been the devotion of the hundreds of thousands of men and women of both races who have been enrolled in the Association over the 50-year period, the support given to the organization by the Negro church, press, organizations, and institutions; the cooperation of white individuals and organized groups such as churches, trade unions, civic associations and minority group societies; the quality of leadership the NAACP has been able to provide; the increasing importance of race as an international issue; the cultural and economic improvement of the Negro; his expanded political power; and the growing maturity of the American people as a whole.

The Association has had three presidents during the half-century: Moorfield Storey, Boston attorney who served as Secretary to Charles Sumner, 1910-1929; Dr. J. E. Spingarn, Columbia University professor, 1930-39; and Arthur B. Spingarn, brother to his predecessor and New York City attorney, 1939 to the present.

Chairmen of the Board of Directors have been Oswald Garrison Villard, 1910-12; J. E. Spingarn, 1913-1918; Mary White Ovington, 1919-30; J. E. Spingarn, 1931-35 (while also serving as president); Dr. Louis T. Wright, 1936-52; and Dr. Channing H. Tobias, 1953 to the present.

The following have served as treasurer of the Association: John E. Milholland, 1910-11; Walter E. Sachs, 1912; Oswald Garrison Villard, 1913-18; J. E. Spingarn, 1920-30; Mary White Ovington, 1931-47; Rev. Allan Knight Chalmers, 1948-57; and Alfred Baker Lewis, 1957 to present.

The Association's first executive secretary was Frances Blascoer who was succeeded in turn by Mary White Ovington, 1911; May Childs Nerney, 1912-1915; Roy Nash, 1916-17; John R. Shillady, 1918-20; James Weldon Johnson, 1921-30; Walter White, 1930-55; and Roy Wilkins, 1955 to the present. Richetta Randolph, the first office secretary, retired as office manager in 1946.

TRADE UNION BIAS

THE Association has hailed the announcement by the President's Committee on Government Contracts that it has called upon the building trades unions of Washington, D. C., to cease discriminating against Negro workers seeking employment on an extensive redevelopment project in the nation's capital.

The Committee's announcement on January 19 followed a December conference with NAACP labor secretary Herbert Hill who again urged the committee to act in this matter. Previously, Mr. Hill and Clarence Mitchell, director of the Association's Washington bureau, had filed complaints with the committee charging exclusion of Negro artisans from jobs on the Washington project.

"By taking this action," Mr. Hill said, "the Committee now acknowledges discrimination by unions is within its jurisdiction. Formerly, the Committee maintained that it had jurisdiction only over employers who have contracts with the federal government. This is a welcome change."

The Committee again called upon George Meany, a member of the government and president of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations to intervene "directly and forcefully" in breaking down jim crow on the redevelopment project job.

Further, the Committee demanded that Gordon Freeman, president of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, take prompt and effective action to restrain its Local No. 26 from refusing to admit qual-

ified Negro electrical workers to membership and apprenticeship training.

The original complaint against Local No. 26 was filed more than two years ago.

NEGRO LABOR COMMITEE SUPPORTS NAACP

NAACP protest against remaining discrimination in some of the trade unions affiliated with the AFL-CIO has been endorsed by the Negro Labor Committee representing 1,000,000 Negro members of the AFL-CIO unions, Frank Crosswaith, committee chairman, has revealed.

A resolution adopted in January by the committee "unanimously endorses the protest made by the NAACP to the AFL-CIO concerning the continued widespread discriminatory practices of affiliated international unions. Despite pious civil rights resolutions, Negro workers in the North as well as in the South continue to be denied equal job opportunities," the resolution charged.

Herbert Hill, NAACP labor secretary, last December submitted an 11-page documented memorandum to the AFL-CIO civil rights department citing complaints received from NAACP members and other Negro workers in various sections of the country alleging discrimination by trade union internationals and locals. Mr. Hill's memorandum was backed by a letter from NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins to George Meany, AFL-CIO president.

In New York City, the Negro Labor Committee resolution asserted, "The Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, at the present time, maintains segregated locals such as the 'lily-white' George M. Harrison Lodge and the all-Negro Friendship Lodge." This "is an indication of how far trade union practices lag behind the public platitudes of the movement," the resolution said.

Previously A. Philip Randolph, a vice-president of the AFL-CIO, announced that he would "make every effort to have the NAACP report put on the agenda for discussion at the forthcoming meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council."

SPINGARN MEDAL NOMINATIONS

NOMINATIONS for the Spingarn Medal for 1958 will be received until April 1, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, has announced.

The medal is awarded annually by the NAACP to a Negro American for distinguished achievement and was instituted in 1914 by the late Joel E. Spingarn, then chairman of the NAACP board of directors.

For the first time in its history, the award for 1957 went to more than one person, the Little Rock Nine and their mentor, Mrs. Daisy Bates. This also marked the first time that the medal was given to minors. Medals were presented at the Association's 1958 convention in Cleveland on July 11.

The field of achievement of prospective Spingarn Medal winners may be intellectual, spiritual, the arts, sciences, business, education or other. Former winners include such persons as Jackie Robinson, pioneer major league

baseball star; Carl Murphy, publisher; Marian Anderson, singer; Paul R. Williams, architect; William H. Hastie, jurist; the Rev. Martin Luther King, clergyman; A. Philip Randolph, labor leader; Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, undersecretary of the United Nations; Dr. Channing H. Tobias, chairman of the NAACP board of directors; and others.

When he died in 1939, Mr. Spingarn left a fund sufficient to continue the award, "to perpetuate the lifelong interest of my brother, Arthur B. Spingarn [the Association's current president], of my wife, Amy E. Spingarn, and of my self in the achievements of the American Negro."

The award, a gold medal, has long been recognized as the most coveted honor in the field. It has served to focus attention on distinguished merit among Negro citizens, to reward such merit and to stimulate the aspiration and ambition of young Negroes.

Nominations should be sent to the Spingarn Medal Award Committee, NAACP, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, N. Y.

NAACP—MISCELLANEOUS

INCOME from life memberships in the NAACP increased by twelve per cent in 1958. Total income from these $500.00 memberships amounted to $250,270.00 last year as compared with $188,000.00 during 1957.

Co-chairmen of the life membership committee are Kivie Kaplan, Boston industrialist; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, Atlanta; and Jackie Robinson, New York businessman. Mildred Bond of the NAACP national office staff is assigned to work with the committee in conducting the drive.

Although life memberships were provided for as early as 1910 it was not until 1927 that the first life member was enrolled. The campaign was not fully activized until after World War II.

* * *

THE 1959 Youth Career Conference series of the Association was held January 30-31 at Peeksville, New York. Guest speakers at the conference included Mrs. Justine Smadbeck, executive director of the J. S. Noyes Foundation, New York City, and Dr. John W. Davis, former president of West Virginia State College and now director, department of teacher information and security NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Herbert Wright, NAACP youth secretary, also addressed the 400 young people of high school and college age. The conference was attended by students from Cornell, Coumbia University, Barnard, Sarah Lawrence, Plattsburg State Teachers College, and the College of the City of New York.

Similar conferences are scheduled for Wichita, Kansas; San Antonio, Texas; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and San Francisco, California.

ROY WILKINS answered NBC commentator Chet Huntley who, on February 1, voiced the opinion over the television network that "the

NAACP may have outlived itself" and suggested that the Association withdraw from the struggle to desegregate the public schools in compliance with rulings of the United States Supreme Court.

The NAACP reply was telecast over the NBC facilities on Mr. Huntley's program, 6:30-7:00 P.M., EST, on Sunday, February 8. Appearing on the program with Mr. Wilkins was Thomas Waring, pro-segregationist editor of *The Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier*. Mr. Huntley opened the program with a repetition of his controversial editorial. He also moderated the program.

The special program was arranged in response to an NAACP request for equal time to answer the NBC commentator. The Association asked for a full hour in which to reply, contending that that much time was needed to set forth adequately the NAACP role in the desegregation and civil rights struggle. NBC countered with an offer of half an hour shared with a pro-segregationist to expound the position of those who advocate defiance of the Supreme Court.

In a letter to William McAndrew, NBC vice president in charge of news, Mr. Wilkins expressed appreciation for "the promptness with which NBC proceeded to set up this program." However, he said, "our position remains unchanged. . . . We do not believe that NBC is really convinced that a half hour, divided between a recapitulation of his position by Mr. Huntley, a statement by an avowed segregationist, and a statement by a representative of the NAACP provides this organization with a genuine opportunity to deal with the points raised by Mr. Huntley on February 1.

JACK E. WOOD, JR., has been appointed the new NAACP special assistant for housing. He replaces Madison S. Jones, who resigned last August to accept a position with the New York Housing Authority.

In his new position, Mr. Wood will direct the Association's housing program designed to eliminate racial discrimination and segregation in this field. He will assist local NAACP units in the development of plans to meet housing problems confronting them in their respective communities. He will also coordinate NAACP housing activities with those of other organizations seeking to secure freedom of residence.

A graduate of Howard University, Mr. Wood has had extensive experience in the housing field, particularly in the areas of slum clearance, urban redevelopment, and tenant relocation. Most recently he was employed by Town Housing Associates in charge of the management and relocation operations of the Morningside Community Center site. He has been employed in similar positions by the Urban Relocation and Nassau Management companies.

Mr. Wood worked for a year as occupancy field auditor for the Public Housing Administration and for three years as occupancy supervisor for the Tarrytown, New York, Housing Authority.

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WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING's *challenge, "Yet who realizes the seriousness of the situation . . ." sparked Mary White Ovington to organize a "large and powerful body of citizens" to do something about the condition of Negroes. It was the challenge of this southern-born journalist that led to the organization of the NAACP*

WILKINS' REPLY

(*Continued from page* 153)

parent that they are opinions. NBC News endeavors in its regular programming to present varying interpretations of the news so that the public may reach its own conclusions after hearing these different viewpoints.

What Mr. Huntley did last Sunday was to express this kind of interpretation, and we expect that he and other commentators on our staff will continue to do so.

It is not our policy to grant network time for rebuttal to those who may dispute any or all of these interpretations of the news. There are on NBC numerous discussion programs where competent spokesmen for opposing positions are directly heard. NBC News did feel that because of the wide interest stimulated by Mr. Huntley's suggestion on a vital matter, it could in this instance enhance the reporting of the story and the understanding of the problem by inviting the expression of two clearly opposing points of view.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wishes to thank *The Crisis* subscribers who responded so readily and magnificently to our Christmas Seal Appeal. The drive was very successful.

BOBBIE BRANCH
Director of Christmas Seal Sale

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People would like to ask if any *Crisis* subscribers have old copies of *The Crisis* magazine they would like to dispose of, especially for the years 1910-1930, and for the year 1946. The NAACP would appreciate having them for its files. We would also appreciate any copies of early *Annual NAACP Reports* for the years 1911-1920, and for the year 1954.

Send them to the NAACP Office Manager, 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York.

Cecil Layne

MRS. THURGOOD MARSHALL *and her two sons. Thurgood Marshall, Jr., (L) is a junior life member of the NAACP. The younger son, John William Marshall, was born on July 6, 1958.*

KANSAS CITY, *Missouri, chairwomen who directed one of the largest tea programs in the history of the branch. From L, Mrs. Frances Page, co-chairman; Mrs. Jessie Powell, general chairman; and Mrs. Grayce Kirkpatrick, co-chairman; were responsible for attracting an audience of 1,500 people and collecting $1,302.*

What the Branches Are Doing

Alaska: Mrs. William Smith was installed in January as new president of the ANCHORAGE branch. Mrs. Smith outlined her program for the promotion of branch growth through vigorous policies and effective committees.

California: Second annual life-membership banquet of the SACRAMENTO branch was held on December 6, 1958, at which time one fully-paid junior NAACP life membership, five fully-paid adult $500 life memberships, and 17 life-membership subscribers were reported. This brings the branch total to 15 fully-paid life memberships, 47 subscriber life memberships, and one fully-paid junior life membership. Life members now represent five per cent of the branch membership, which is approximately 900.

Nathaniel S. Colley, past president of the Sacramento branch and a member of the NAACP national life membership committee, is chairman of the branch's life membership committee. He introduced the branch to the idea of life memberships in 1957, at which time, at the first banquet, the branch secured ten fully-paid life members and 36 subscribing life members. Attorney Wiley M. Branton of Little Rock, Arkansas, was guest speaker at the 1958 banquet.

W. L. Williams of the LOS ANGELES branch is now a fully-paid, $500, life member in the NAACP; and so is his wife, Mrs. Minnie O. Williams.

One of the first people in the Los Angeles area to take out an Association life membership was L. G. Robinson, a long-time worker in the NAACP.

Connecticut: The LITCHFIELD COUNTY branch sponsored a "Meet the Candidates" and annual report tea on October 12, 1958, at the AME Zion Church of Torrington. All local and some congressional candidates attended, which permitted branch members to question them as to their stand on significant issues. This program grossed the branch $96.50. With the $57 raised by the branch on May 25, 1958, plus monies raised on October 12, the branch was enabled to send $100.00 to the national office.

Delaware: The January 25 meeting of the WILMINGTON branch was addressed by James Nabrit, dean of the law school of Howard University, and Calvin D. Banks, NAACP field secretary.

Iowa: Municipal Judge Luther Glanton, Jr., Iowa's first Negro jurist, was honored with a special "Service of Recognition" at the Corinthian Baptist church in January. Among the highlights of the program was the

presentation of a gavel to Judge Glanton on behalf of the church trustee board by its chairman, A. P. Trotter. Judge Glanton, appointed by Governor Herschel C. Loveless, is the first Negro ever to serve in this capacity in Iowa. Judge Glanton was one of eight applicants, the other seven being white.

Michigan: The following items are from the *Newsletter* of the MICHIGAN STATE CONFERENCE OF NAACP BRANCHES: Mrs. George Rucks has been re-elected president of the MUSKEGON branch, Willie Frank Jones was installed in December as president of the BAY CITY branch, Mrs. Josephine Wharton is new president of the LANSING branch, Arthur Washington was re-elected president of the KALAMAZOO branch, and Rev. Matthew A. Lowe has been installed as new president of the GRAND RAPIDS branch.

ROY WILKINS, *NAACP executive secretary, presents 1958 Metropolitan Area Membership Trophy to the Staten Island, New York, branch, which enrolled the highest percentage of its membership goal by the closing date of the 1958 Metropolitan Area Campaign. Pictured from L are A. L. Thompson, life membership chairman; Mrs. Margaret Scott, Raymond Bush, Mr. Wilkins, and Samuel Browne, branch president.*

Peeler's

MOTHERS *of the youths who were sent to the Morrison Training School, North Carolina, for allowing white girls to kiss them. From L, Mrs. Jennie Simpson, mother of David Simpson, and Mrs. Evelyn Thompson, mother of James Thompson, who are all smiles as Kelly Alexander, president of the North State Conference of NAACP branches, presents them gifts of $100 each from the NAACP. Charles McLean (R), NAACP field secretary, looks approvingly on. (The boys have since been released to their mothers, February 13, 1959).*

The largest membership participation on record elected the Rev. Father Henry L. Parker, vicar of the Resurrection Episcopal church, as president of the TRI-CITY branch.

The state youth advisor reports a successful program of activities through 1958. At the present time there are about 3,000 young people in the state who are actively participating in the four university and twenty-three younth councils.

On January 19 the DETROIT branch released copies of separate correspondence it sent to Mayor Louis C. Miriani and the Rev. Irwin C. Johnson, chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Police-Community Relations.

In its letter to the mayor, the branch pointed to the recommendations on illegal-arrests practices by the police and called upon the mayor, as the "conservator of the peace, and the responsible elected official," to see to it that these recommendations are given immediate and effective implementation by the administration of the Detroit police department.

D. J. DIGGS *gazes fondly at little Shari Lai Roy Combs, youngest NAACP life member of the Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, branch. Lynzetta Jones (R) hands the tot the NAACP life membership receipt while Richard Brown shows approval.*

In the letter to the chairman of the CACPCR, the branch submitted two complaints of police brutality which had been reported to the branch during January. It requested the CACPCR to hold a public hearing in order that the complainants may appear and present the facts in connection with their cases. Herbert Hart, commissioner of police has been asked to investigate the charges filed in the two complaints.

Minnesota: Donald Lewis and Carl L. Weschcke, Jr., both of ST. PAUL, have been appointed co-chairmen of the NAACP 1960 national convention committee which is scheduled for St. Paul.

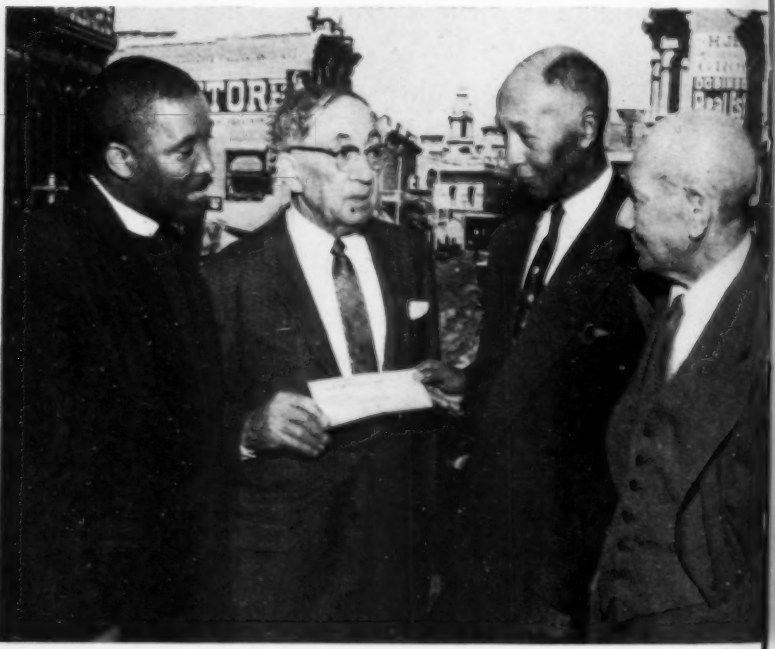
Mississippi: Dr. B. E. Murph, president of the LAUREL branch, was guest speaker at a mass youth rally sponsored by the MERIDIAN branch in Meridian on January 11. Dr. Murph called upon Negro youth throughout

the state to join the NAACP in order to help in the fight against racial injustice.

C. R. Darden, president of the Mississippi state conference, brought greetings. Music for the occasion was furnished by the Laurel youth concil choral group.

Nevada: Officers of the RENO-SPARKS branch for 1959 are U. S. Woodard, president; Eddie B. Scott, vice-president; Mrs. Elena Gibson, recording secretary; Mrs. Bertha Woodard, corresponding secretary; and Leroy Badie, treasurer.

New Jersey: The following officers were installed at the installation service of the JERSEY CITY branch on January 11: Attorney Raymond



L. G. ROBINSON *(extreme R), first man in the Los Angeles, California, area to pay for an NAACP life membership in full, looks on approvingly, as does Maurice Dawkins, local branch president, and H. Claude Hudson, national board member, as W. L. Williams (2nd from R) pays $1,000 for a NAACP life membership for himself and his wife Minnie O. Williams.*

Scott E. Henderson

OFFICERS *of the Richmond, Virginia, youth council. From L, seated, Laura Greene, president; Christine Allen, first vice-president; Oakley Holmes second vice-president; Doris Thornton, recording secretary; (standing) Mrs. Annie White, youth advisor; Katherine Jefferson, treasurer; Mrs. Grizelle Harris, assistant youth advisor; Jimmie Cooper and William Shelton, sergeants at arms; Ida Williams, financial secretary. Organized in September of 1958, the Richmond youth council has 200 active members and eight standing committees.*

Brown, president; Leon Geaut, first vice-president; Mrs. Nora Fant, second vice-president; Mrs. Costella Foster, third vice-president; Mrs. Eola Jett, secretary; and Walter Singleton, treasurer.

The following youth council officers for 1959 were installed: Delores Carney, president; Carol Ann Williams, corresponding secretary; Rosemary Williams, recording secretary; John Davis, first vice-president; Stanley Daniels, second vice-president; and Kenneth Howard, treasurer.

Dr. John W. Davis, president-emeritus of West Virginia State College and special director of teacher information at the NAACP, was principal speaker at a recent meeting of the MONTCLAIR branch.

Newly installed officers of the Montclair branch are Mrs. Octavia Cat-

THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN ASSEMBLY, *Philadelphia Assembly No. 5, takes out a $500 life membership in the NAACP. Pictured from L are Mrs. Mattie Youngblood, chairman of P. R.; Mrs. Bertie I. Finney, chairman of committee on gifts; and Mrs. Mary J. Harrison, L.L.R., who is presenting the membership check to Charles A. Shorter, executive secretary of the Philadelphia branch.*

lett, president; Raymond Johnson, first vice-president; Curtis Parker, second vice-president; Mrs. Geraldine Sherman, secretary; Mrs. Orene Norris and Susan Ford, assistant secretaries; and Mrs. Fannie Downey, treasurer.

The NEW JERSEY STATE CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP has issued, through Floyd D. McLean, the following report on the housing crisis:

There is a serious struggle unfolding in New Jersey with reference to discrimination in housing. So far the battle has received a minimum of publicity and has been mostly behind closed doors in the form of hearings held in the offices of the State Department of Education, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Superior Court at Burlington, New Jersey.

Battle lines are drawn. On the one side are the corporations of William J. Levitt and Sons and Greenfield Village Farms, and the New Jersey Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, the NAACP, department of the New Jersey Attorney General, and the New Jersey State Assembly.

The New Jersey Senate seems to be aligned with the Levitt faction. The New Jersey Assembly has sponsored and passed housing bills which may be buried in committee in the Senate, and consensus of opinion is that this battle may eventually reach the U. S. Supreme Court.

New York: Mrs. Constance Motley, assistant counsel, Legal, Defense and Educational Fund of the NAACP, was guest speaker at installation services of the JAMAICA branch on January 19 at the Allen AME church. Dr. Charles M. Reid, first president and founder of the Jamaica branch in 1926, was the installing officer. Florence V. Lucas was re-elected as president; others elected and installed were William H. Booth, vice-president; Patricia Burnett, secretary; Ruby Scott, assistant secretary; and J. Harry Noisette, treasurer.

After four week-ends of picketing the Sears & Roebuck branch store in the Bronx, the BRONX branch has won recognition as the voice of the community in its fight to eliminate discriminatory hiring policies in the Bronx area.

Eastern district general manager of the company has agreed that wherever vacancies occur in the future, the members of minority groups will be considered for employment in sales positions.

Tennessee: The freedom fund campaign sponsored by the NASHVILLE branch closed with a public program, on January 25, featuring Jackie Robinson as the principal speaker.

This program was preceded by a program headed by E. P. White and Dr. V. W. Henderson which featured Attorney Wiley M. Branton as guest speaker at a freedom fund banquet. On January 25, the branch featured an All-City Choir, directed by Helen Work, as part of its freedom fund campaign.

Wisconsin: Eddie Walker, new president of the MILWAUKEE branch was installed on January 11, with Fred W. Hickman, past president, installing Mr. Walker and the other officers.

Also featured at the meeting was an open discussion of the theme "We Assess Our Community," lead by Ray Richardson, program director of the Milwaukee Neighborhood House.

THE NAACP GOLDEN JUBILEE

1909-1959

50th Annual NAACP Convention

New York City — July 13-19

College and School News

E. H. Breckenridge, social studies teacher, a Negro, plays a prominent role in the community problems studies of the SHADLE PARK HIGH SCHOOL, Spokane, Washington. The community problems program, fused through the seminar plan, is used in the one-year U. S. history course given at Shadle Park.

■

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE continues to grow. Since 1876 more than 6,000 young men and women from 47 states, 12 foreign countries, and 22 different religious affiliations have been graduated from Meharry.

Meharry began as a one-room missionary school with an individual gift of $500. Its first graduating class in 1877 consisted of one student. Today the students in its three schools—Medicine, Dentistry, and Nursing—number 485. The estimated value of Meharry's buildings, grounds, and equipment is $7,000,000. Endowment amounts to slightly more than $6,048,909, and the annual budget is over $2,000,000.

■

Dr. L. M. Donalson, M.D. '32, Fayetteville, Tennessee, Negro physician and surgeon, will serve as president of the Lincoln County Medical society in 1960.

Dr. Donalson, manager of the county-owned and operated Negro hospital here named in his honor, was named president-elect of the society by acclamation. He will take office in January, 1960.

"This is the greatest honor that has ever been bestowed upon me," Dr. Donalson, the only Negro medical doctor in Lincoln county said. "I appreciate it with all my heart. I am going to devote every effort to live up to the responsibilities of the office."

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MOREHOUSE COLLEGE has been given $250,000 by the Danforth Foundation to endow a chair, yet to be designated, in the area of the social sciences or the humanities.

The late William H. Danforth was president of the Ralston-Purina Company of St. Louis, Missouri, and founder of the Danforth Foundation. He has been a good friend of Dr. and Mrs. Mays since 1942.

■

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY has received a grant of $250 from the Association of College and Research Libraries for a visible file for periodicals in the Trevor Arnett Library. AU is one of 76 college and university libraries receiving this grant.

Eighteenth annual AU exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and prints by Negro artists will be held at AU March 29-April 26. Purchase awards totalling $1,400 will be distributed as follows: in oil or tempera four prizes; in water colors, pastel or gouache, two prizes; in sculpture two prizes; and in prints three prizes.

■

Dean William C. Warren of COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY'S school of law declares that there is an urgent need to teach the American public more about the nation's legal system. The dean insists that many national crises would be less critical if individual citizens understood the legal issues involved.

■

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, under secretary of the United Nations and holder of the Nobel Peace Prize, was given the second Albert Gallatin Award on January 28 at the annual

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dinner of the Albert Gallatin Associates of NEW YORK UNIVERSITY in the Hotel Pierre.

The award is given each year to a graduate of the university or an honorary recipient who has made "a contribution of lasting significance to society." Dr. Bunche received an honorary LL. D. degree from NYU in 1956.

■

New York University has awarded an Ed. D. degree to MORGAN STATE COLLEGE's assistant professor of home economics, Mrs. Theresa Kennedy Brown.

Morgan debaters played host on January 10 to fellow debaters from ten colleges at the first Intercollegiate Invitational Debate Tournament. The University of Maryland won the tournament, debating the subject "Resolved, That the Further Development of Nuclear Weapons Should be Prohibited by International Agreement." Morgan did not compete in the tournament.

Beauty, brains, and leadership are heavily represented among the seventeen Morgan students selected for citation in the current edition of *Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges.*

Ten new U. S. Army second lieutenants were commissioned at Morgan in swearing-in ceremonies held in the Hurt Gymnasium on January 22.

■

One of the 256 trees planted in a major conservation program at the Thor Research Center for Better Farm Living near Marengo, Illinois, has been dedicated to Dr. Robert P. Daniel, president of VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE.

The Baltimore Symphony Orchestra was presented in concert at VSC on February 9. Norfolk Division of VSC presented Sutton Vane's "Outward Bound" at Virginia Hall on January 16.

■

SHAW UNIVERSITY was host to a vocational opportunities series, under the direction of Dr. Marguerite Adams, university counselor, during the month of January.

W. J. Trent, executive secretary of the United Negro College Fund, was a recent speaker at Shaw on the role of the Negro in American life.

Shaw is one of thirty colleges and universities participating in the testing of scholarship and admission candidates from more than 700 high schools distributed throughout the United States.

■

Lovette A. ("Pop") Warner has been named coach and physical edu-

cation instructor at LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE. Mr. Warner is a graduate of Johnson C. Smith University and holds a master of arts degree from Columbia University.

Religious emphasis week was observed at Livingstone February 2-8, with the Rev. G. W. McMurray, minister of the Metropolitan AME Zion church, Birmingham, Alabama, serving as guest minister.

■

BISHOP COLLEGE is one of thirty colleges participating in the testing of from 5,000 to 6,000 scholarship and admission candidates from more than 700 high schools distributed throughout the United States and the Virgin Islands.

■

JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY is also a participant in the nationwide college-testing program.

In the third distribution of United Negro College Fund grants, JCS received $13,589.72.

Dr. Charles A. Ray, director of the new bureau at North Carolina College (Durham), was keynote speaker at the second annual Public Relations Institute sponsored by JCS in January. He said colleges should emphasize the achievements of students in academic and other fields as well as in athletics, and that competition in communications media has become so intense that small colleges may well think in terms of greater interinstitutional cooperation in promoting and publicizing activities of common interest.

■

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY held founders' day exercises on February 13 in the newly decorated Barco-Stevens Hall, which was dedicated on this occasion. Chairman of the founders' day drive for 1959 is The Honorable Homer S. Brown, judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny county, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Attorney Eugene Kinkle Jones, Jr., of New York City delivered the formal address and Attorney Colston A. Lewis of Richmond from the alumni in the legal profession who were honored on this occasion.

Virginia Union played host March 20-21 to the second annual Interdenominational Church Leadership Conference, with Dr. Evans E. Crawford, acting dean of the Howard University chapel, delivering the keynote address. Conference emphasis was on "Building better churches."

The university was one of thirty colleges participating in the testing of scholarship and admission candidates throughout the United States

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and the Virgin Islands. Theresita N. Braxton, university registrar, directed administration of the test in five centers in Virginia.

■

The National Science Foundation has awarded a grant of $12,300 to THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY for a five-week "Summer Institute for High School Teachers of Biology" to be held this summer at the museum and at the museum's Archbold Biological Station, Lake Placid, Florida.

AMNH is giving two fifteen-week courses this spring titled "Wildlife of the New York Region" and "Wild Plants of the Northeast."

■

HAMPTON INSTITUTE's Huntington Memorial Library has been awarded a grant from the Association of College Research Libraries to establish a collection of music, drama, and poetry records.

President Alonzo G. Moron has been chosen by the U. S. State Department to interpret America to India through a two-month lecture and discussion tour of the Asian republic. Dr. Moron left Idlewild Airport on January 6. This is Dr. Moron's second assignment from the State Department: his first appointment was to head the U. S. delegation to the West Indies Conference in Jamaica in 1952.

■

Six BOSTON UNIVERSITY faculty members reviewed the cultural and religious difficulties of the various minority groups in the United States in a program sponsored by the University's Cosmopolitan Club on January 11.

Dr. William O. Brown, director of the university's African research and studies program, addressed the Southern Assembly of the American Assembly in Biloxi, Mississippi, on January 15. His topic was "Nationalism in Africa — Problems and Implixations."

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Book Reviews

MIXED ROMANCE

***Marie or Slavery in the United States.* A novel of Jacksonian America. By Gustave de Beaumont. Translated from the French by Barbera Chapman. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1958. 252 pp. $4.95.**

In 1831-1832 two young French magistrates visited the United States to study its penal institutions. Each man decided to write a book about the country: one would study its institutions; the other its customs. The result was Tocqueville's classic *Democracy in America* and Beaumont's almost forgotten novel, *Marie*. First published in 1835, the latter waited until 1958 before being translated into English.

The two friends shared the same experiences in the United States. Their views on slavery were identical: both opposed the institution; both deplored the prejudice to which the free Negro was subjected even in the North; both appreciated the importance of race relations in America's future. Tocqueville stated the facts; Beaumont dramatized them in the manner of the romantic novels then in vogue. But, in addition, Beaumont weighed his volume down with digressions and footnotes which probably hampered its success as fiction and today constitute its most valuable contribution. In the translation these notes extend from pages 189-252 and cover such topics as the social and political condition of the Negro slaves and of free people of color, condition of the Negro slave in the U.S., types of slavery in the U.S., abolition, the present condition of Indian tribes, the New York race riots of 1834. The tables comparing the free and slave population from 1790 to 1830 are omitted from the translation.

The story itself owes much to Chateaubriand's *Atala*. A French hermit, one Ludovic, living in the wilds of Saginaw, relates his unhappy love affair with Marie. The latter, whom he met in Baltimore is a beautiful, angelic girl, ostracized by white society because of the proverbially potent drop of African blood. Melodramatically their wedding is interrupted by a white mob which attacks the Catholic church in New York where the ceremony is about to take place. They decide to seek a haven in the widerness but, in typical romantic fashion, the heroine dies, her health un-

dermined by the long journey, fever, and the indefinable *mal du siècle*. In the meantime, her brother has been killed while leading the Indians in an unsuccessful revolt against the whites. The "old fashioned and somewhat stilted style" does little to render the banal theme more interesting.

On the other hand, the sociological and historical comments are well worth reading. Through them one sees New York City in the 1830's with a population of 13,000 colored people and 200,000 whites. Descriptions of conditions under which free Negroes lived in this city and in Balitmore compel comparison with our status today. Perhaps the basic importance of the book lies in the author's early and accurate diagnosis of the Number One problem facing American Democracy.

Mercer Cook

DR. MERCER COOK is head of the department f romance languages at Howard University, Washington, D. C.

GROUP CONFLICTS

***Minorities In The New World:* Six Case Studies. By Charles Wagley and Marvin Harris. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. XVI+320pp. $6.00.**

This is a book of outstanding human interest because it is a factual study of the racial and minority problems which now confront the Americas. Our authors study the Indians in Brazil and Mexico, the Negroes in Martinique and the United States, the Jews in the United States, and French Canadians. Although they limit themselves to six case studies, they point out that they could very well have added more: Italian minorities in Argentina and Brazil, Chinese minorities in the United States, Peru, and the West Indies; Javanese and Hindus in the West Indies, "wetbacks" in the United States, and so on.

What is a minority? Any group, our authors point out, which does not "share equally in the wealth, power, and prestige of the society in which they live" constitutes a minority. Women in many

AN APOLOGY

The Crisis is distressed that Dr. Hugh H. Smythe's review in the January issue of Mrs. Elizabeth Kytle's *Willie Mae* can, and has been, interpreted as more of a personal attack upon the author than an appraisal of her book.

Mrs. Kytle is a member of the NAACP and has for years been one of the active workers in the Columbus, Ohio, branch. She has no racial bias, nor any of the attitudes suggested by the review. Incidentally, she wrote the "Meet the Press" television program in 1956 to take its panel members severely to task for the type of questions directed at Roy Wilkins during his appearance there in August.

The Crisis is aware that those who campaign for racial justice must not themselves be guilty of sweeping racial generalizations.

The Crisis apologizes for the hurt done Mrs. Kytle and for the distress caused her.

countries, members of certain political parties in authoritarian regimes, sexual deviants, and many other groups, are minorities. Our authors, however, distinguish between groups which "suffer social disabilities for a variety of reasons" and minorities. They use three discriminating criteria: The terms "minority" and "majority" do not refer to actual numbers; a minority always has "special characteristics"; and minorities are "self-conscious social units." There are two minor criteria: one is born into a minority group, "membership [is] by descent"; the other is endogamy. Endogamy is often enforced by the minorities themselves in order to perpetuate group differences. "All over the world there are minorities which consider it a disgrace for children to choose a mate who does not belong to the minority group."

The six groups in this study represent three racial stocks: Amerind, Negroid, and Caucasoid. They are set off from the majority in their respective societies by physical appearance or race, as with the Negro in the USA; by race and language, as with the Negro in Martinique; by culture and language, as with the Indians in Brazil and Mexico; by religion and language, as with the French in Canada; and by religion, as with the Jews in the USA.

"All the minority groups discussed in this book," our authors explain, "are faced by an ideal of national culture and national physical type associated with the characteristics of the dominant segments of the state societies into which they have been incorporated. . . In the United States, the national ideal is English-speaking, Protestant, northern European descent, and light Caucasoid in physical appearance." Divergence from, as well as approximation to, this ideal of the national cultural and physical type is a significant factor in the attitude of the majority toward the minority.

Among the points the authors make in their conclusion, "An Anthropological View," are that the origins of a minority, although it furnishes a point of departure, do not explain its present condition; that initial hostile contact "frequently provides an important key to understanding intergroup hostilities"; and that "historical-cultural components" play an important role. "It is clear that all six of our cases owe their present subordinate positions at least in part to competitive disadvantages stemming from their own cultural traditions and from other characteristics of their ways of life at the moment they were incorporated into their respective societies." As heirs to the institution of slavery, Negroes were the least culturally prepared for their new life; while the Jews in the United States, on the other hand, began their "new life with a minimum number of handicaps deriving from their previous culture." The authors likewise discuss the questions of pluralism and assimilation.

J.W.I.

***The Book of Negro Folklore*, Edited by Langston Hughes and Arna Bontemps. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1958. XXXI+624pp. $6.50.**

Messrs. Hughes and Bontemps, those perceptive anthologists, have again put us in their debt. It was first with *The Poetry of the Negro, 1746-1949*. (1949). Now it is with their *The Book of Negro Folklore*, a remarkable and comprehensive collection of Negro folk literature

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ranging from animal tales and animal rhymes to sophisticated poetry and prose written in the folk manner. Some of the chapter headings are "Memories of Slavery," "Sometimes in the Mind," "God, Man and the Devil," "Do You Call That a Preacher?" "Ghost Stories," "Black Magic and Chance," "Amen Corner," "Spirituals," "Ballads," "Blues," "Work Songs," Street Cries," and "The Jazz Folk."

American Negro folk artists have evolved symbols, characters, and an idiom that is all their own. This becomes obvious as soon as one compares the Negro folklore of the United States with that of Haiti or Brazil or Venezuela. The genial commonsense of Mr. Bontemps' "Introduction" makes exactly this point. Messrs. Hughes and Bontemps' panorama of Negro folklore is a skilful piece of editing.

J.W.I.

***Up From Puerto Rico.* By Elena Padilla. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958. XIII 317 pp. $5.00.**

This book offers a detailed description of culture contact and processes of adjustment between the 550,000 Puerto Ricans in New York City and the American majority. Dr. Padilla studies that segment of this minority group which resides in a New York City slum which she calls "Eastville." She studies rank and stratification among them, family and kinship, cliques and the social grapevines, Hispanos and the larger society as well as health and recreation. New York City Puerto Rican society is divided into recent migrants, older migrants, and those born and reared in New York.

"From the standpoint of American society, Puerto Ricans form a group. This is defined either as a racial group, an ethnic group, or a cultural group. From the point of view of official statistical sources, Puerto Ricans are individuals born in Puerto Rico and children of Puerto-Rican born women." But this criterion is not consistent. It ignores individual and cultural differences among the Puerto Ricans, and likewise ignores the fact that many Spanish-speaking persons from Latin America and Spain, as well as some who do not speak Spanish, are assumed to be Puerto Ricans. They constitute the Hispano group, which is basically Puerto Rican, within "the context of American life."

Cleavages between Puerto Ricans and Americans are carefully described; familial life and child rearing are analyzed; and employment and health are also considered in detail. Puerto Rican attitudes toward American Negroes and West Indians are touched upon, but there is only slight reference to color prejudice among the Puerto Ricans themselves. She admits: "All other things being equal, it is a social advantage to look white rather than Negro." Yet Puerto Ricans are aware of their Negro ancestry as this popular saying attests: "If he's not Negro, he has a tinge of Negro blood" — "El que no tiene dinga, tiene mandinga." Or "You may be white, but what kind of white?" "Blanco de qué?"

Up From Puerto Rico is a good introduction to the problems of America's most recent immigrants.

J.W.I.

***What We Know About "Race."* by Ashley Montagu. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1958. 40pp. 25c.**

This is the second pamphlet in a new series of ADL publications primarily directed at youth groups and young adult audiences.

With humorous illustrations, this pamphlet explains what "race" is and what it is not. Dr. Montagu examines the physical differences between ethnic groups and analyzes the interrelation-

ship of heredity, intelligence, and environment. The pamphlet reaffirms the principle that every man is entitled to equality of opportunity and the right to development.

The author stresses these essential points: Ethnic groups resemble each other much more than they differ from one another; man's outstanding trait is his ability to learn—and to profit by his experiences; and intelligence cannot develop without the stimulation of environment.

***The Negro Question:* A Selection of Writings on Civil Rights in the South. By George W. Cable. Edited by Arlin Turner. Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958. XX+257pp. Paperbound 95c; hardbound $3.95.**

George W. Cable (1844-1925) served two years in the Confederate army, wrote stories about Louisiana and its decaying Latin splendor, and resided in New England during his later years. Cable was primarily a publicist and social critic. He remarked in 1885: "The greatest social problem before the American people today is, as it has been for a hundred years, the presence among us of the Negro." Mr. Turner has here gathered sixteen of Cable's essays on various aspects of the South and the Negro. What Cable tries to make clear to his fellow Southerners is that the Negro wants civil rights, economic security, and participation in politics, not social equality and intermarriage. What he says about segregated schools is timely even today: ". . . The distinction is odious; for though accommodations were every whit equal in two sets of schools, should one set be closed against any other class other than the blacks, as (for example merely) the Irish, I need not say what indignation would be aroused, nay, what blood would be shed, nor how quickly the closed doors would be battered in."

PLAN NOW TO ATTEND

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JULY 13-JULY 19

OPPOSES SEGREGATION

(*Continued from page* 135)

American way of life is not states rights, but rather is as expressed in the Declaration of Independence—

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

The equality mentioned is not natural equality, because obviously all men are not equally endowed with health, strength or intelligence, but merely means that all persons are entitled to equal treatment under the law.

RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUAL

When the Constitution was adopted, the right of the individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness was safeguarded through the first eight amendments and future con-

tingencies were safeguarded through the Tenth Amendment. Admittedly, in Virginia only a small minority conceived these rights as being applicable to its Negro residents, and at that time the leaders in Virginia thought that these rights could best be secured through the aegis of the state government. But in the orderly evolution of the underlying principle of the right of the individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, under a form of government whose economy was principally supported by a capitalist system of free enterprise, it was not long before irreconcilable conflict had arisen between this principle and the South's peculiar institution of slavery.

Irrespective of where you or I would place the responsibility for the starting of the war, the hard, cold fact remains that this conflict was resolved by force of arms in a war which some historians think should more properly be designated as the "Second American Revolutionary War." It was out of this conflict that arose the second phase in the establishment in the United States of the right of the individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

As an aftermath of this war and the grave issues involved, the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution of the United States were adopted. The 13th Amendment terminated the legality of human slavery. The 15th Amendment extended suffrage to Negroes upon the same terms and conditions extended to white persons.

STATE SOVEREIGNTY REDUCED

But the most important changes—changes of which the segregationists of Virginia seem not to be aware—are those contained in the 14th Amendment. Firstly, the reduction in the sovereignty of all of the States of the Union by the transfer of the primary obligation of allegiance of all citizens from the state in which they reside to the federal government; secondly, the extension of the protection of the Bill of Rights to all black Americans, whether formerly free or slave; and, thirdly, the prohibition of the denial of these rights by action of the states.

Thus, it is manifest that the force and effect of the Tenth Amendment as originally adopted has been considerably altered by the adoption of the 14th Amendment directly limiting the sovereignty of the states.

From time immemorial, certainly in this country, the obligation of allegiance to our government carries with it the correlative duty on the part of the government to protect its citizens. From the early 1870's right down to the School Segregation cases, the United States Supreme Court has acted to protect the rights of individuals and corporations against actions of the various states asserted under the provisions of the 14th Amendment. Why, then, is it suddenly in the school cases a usurpation of states rights to protect rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States?

The segregationists complain that in 1896 the United States Supreme Court decided that racial segregation did not violate the provisions of the 14th Amendment in the case of *Plessy vs. Ferguson*. But, for some unexplained reason, they ignore the fact that in the Plessy case—which,

incidentally, involved segregation on street cars—the United States Supreme Court arbitrarily determined that racial segregation did not violate the rights of the Negro as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment. No evidence was introduced in the case on this question. In the *Wong Lum* case, in 1928, neither the detrimental effects of segregation nor the right of the state to make racial classifications was an issue, because the little Chinese girl conceded the right of the state to make racial classifications.

But in the School Segregation cases, for the first time, concrete evidence was presented to the Court which overwhelmingly preponderated over any evidence to the contrary that racial segregation was in fact detrimental to Negroes.

Faced with this history and these facts, there was no other logical or just conclusion that the United States Supreme Court could reach other than to hold racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional. The Constitution does not guarantee any right to any racial solidarity or to the protection or preservation of any race. Its guarantees go to the right of the individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

STATES RIGHTS NOT VIOLATED

It is impossible for me to conceive how any objective observer can logically contend that the action of the Supreme Court violated any right of the state. The contention that the fact that the Court had once passed on the question and was thereafter foreclosed from correcting a demonstrated error is as illogical as would be the contention of a motorist who, when charged with driving down the highway in a careless and reckless manner at ninety miles an hour, declared that the officers arresting him were out of order because peace officers had been observing him driving in this manner for the past quarter of a century and none of them had so charged him before.

The contention is made that racial segregation in public schools must be maintained in order to preserve a way of life to which Virginians have been accustomed. I certainly make no pretense that the elimination of racial segregation will not change the way of life in many Virginia communities—as a matter of fact, such a change is necessary and is being forced daily by the evolution of American constitutional principles—but we do deny that anything worth preserving of the so-called southern traditions will be detrimentally affected by the elimination of racial segregation.

What will be eliminated will be the need for white citizens to degrade themselves by acting in a manner unbecoming a human being in their contacts with persons of African ancestry. All essential qualities based upon honesty, integrity and the Christian ethics will not only be preserved, but strengthened; that is, for example, the necessity for denying a patient treatment at a hospital, a traveler food and lodging, a spectator the right to sit in accordance with his individual preferences at places of public amusement and entertainment, the right of a man to secure employment, the right of a person to exercise his personal preferences in

the selection of his residence—these and similar denials currently practiced against Negro citizens in our segregated communities would be changed.

It is a matter of common observation that in the communities wherein the rights of black persons to exercise their constitutional rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are recognized and safeguarded, that the rights of white persons are equally as well protected. But I can point out to you hundreds of individual instances in Virginia wherein the totalitarian concept of racial segregation not only deprives the Negro of his constitutional rights, but similarly deprives the white persons of their rights. One clear-cut illustration commonly known is the denial to white people who oppose massive resistance of their right to freedom of expression because of their fear of social, economic or political reprisals. There are even rumors of reprisals against the Justices of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia for exercising their honest judgment and declaring the massive resistance laws unconstituitional. [The Virginia Su- on January 19, that the "massive resistance" laws violated the State Constitution.]

preme Court of Appeals ruled, 5 to 2,

One of the biggest excuses for the maintenance of racial segregation is that a vast cultural difference exists between Negroes and white persons residing in Virginia. I submit that in any community in which such cultural lags exist, these lags are caused, preserved and fostered by segregation and not because of any racial differences.

AMERICAN HERITAGE

We must recognize that the American heritage of virtually all Negroes residing in Virginia extends back within a range of 150 to 340 years. The Negro is an integral part of the fiber of America, antedating the landing at Plymouth Rock, and he has participated in every movement for the development and preservation of the right of the individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. His blood was shed on Boston Commons when Virginians were still debating whether they were going to be American patriots or remain loyal to the King of England. Negro blood, sweat, tears and laughter have contributed to every facet of American life.

In every area of activity where given a full opportunity, the Negro measures up to other Americans. Thus it is apparent that where cultural lags exist, they are created by the evils inherent in segregation. It is

There can be only a feeling of relief and gratitude that court-ordered admission of 21 Negro students into schools of Norfolk and Arlington County, Va., went off yesterday [February 2] without incident. Everyone concerned deserves to be congratulated that the potential for another Little Rock thus far has been avoided.

Excerpt from an editorial in *The Atlanta Constitution*.

also significant that in the areas where segregation is the most strictly enforced, you will find the greatest cultural lag.

In order to emphasize the so-called cultural lag, statistics on illegitimacy, venereal disease and such are constantly cited. I would be the last to deny that illegitimacy constitutes a grave social problem which should be corrected at the earliest possible moment. But I submit that the first step in eradicating this evil is the elimination of racial segregation—its breeding place—just as the first step in eradicating malaria was to dry up the swamps and destroy the breeding places of the malaria bearing mosquito.

I also call your attention to the fact, though, that while I recognize illegitimacy as a grave social problem, I deny the basic conclusion for which these statistics are generally paraded—that is, morality of persons of Negro ancestry is lower than that of persons who have no ascertainable Negro ancestry.

When you are going to equate sexual morality, you not only have to consider illegitimacy statistics, but, I submit, you have to consider the million dollar abortion rings; the large amount of money spent on prophylactics and contraceptives used for illicit sexual relations; the number of sophisticates who enter hospitals under fictitious names and give birth to their children as married women, thereby avoiding the illegitimacy statistics, and in many instances financing such hospitalization by supplying material for the billion dollar black market adoption ring which exists in this country; to say nothing of the legalized prostitution which masquerades under the guise of marriage with speedy and frequent divorces.

Segregationists contend that non-segregated schools will destroy the purity of the white race. I doubt the purity of the white race, but I see no more reason why non-segregated schools should cause the destruction of the white race any more than freedom of religion has tended to destroy Catholicism, Judaism or Protestantism.

SADISM AND SEX

Typical of segregationists' arguments, Governor Almond made a sweeping statement charging that sadism, sex, immorality and juvenile pregnancy infest the desegregated schools of the District of Columbia and elsewhere. But this charge was convincingly and forthrightly denied

> Virginia once more has given an example to the world of dignified and orderly behavior. Entry of Negro pupils yesterday [February 2] into a few white schools in Arlington and Norfolk provoked no hint of violence. Thus the Old Dominion, with the international spotlight focused upon her, and despite the overwhelming opposition of her people to forcible mixing of the races in the schools, gives again an example of decency and orderliness.
>
> Excerpt from an editorial in the *Richmond Times Dispatch.*

in a joint statement issued by Messrs. Walter N. Tobriner, chairman of the board of education, and Carl F. Hansen, superintendent of schools, in which, among other things, they say:

> It condemns the many for the misfortunes and the deviations of the few. It implies that conditions relative to the morality among some children are peculiar to Washington and cannot be found in other cities as well, whether segregated or integrated.
>
> It subjects to profound indignity and unprovoked assault a public school system that is dedicated to the educational improvement of all children in accordance with the highest ideals of democracy.

Anyone truly concerned about "The Truth About Desegregation in Washington's Schools" should read the series of articles under that title by Erwin Kroll, published in *The Washington Post and Times Herald* from December 22 through December 28, 1958, and now reprinted in pamphlet form.

There is one other half-truth currently being circulated in Virginia to the effect that all lines of communication between the races are broken down. The truth is that Negroes are as willing to work cooperatively toward the solution of the problems of desegration now as they were five or even ten years ago. The only severance exists at the end resting among the white people and can easily be reunited once the white people of this state decide to work constructively upon the problems, real and fancied, incident to the elimination of racial segregation.

Racial segregation is crumbling—not because the Negro wants it eliminated, but because it is incompatible with the fundamental concept of the right of the individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The only question, my friends, is whether or not you will repudiate the actions of your politicians and work cooperatively to bring the transition to pass with a minimum of emotional impact, or whether you continue to follow the false doctrine of evasion, resistance and defiance of the law and the principles of American democracy and suffer the change from segregation to desegregation amid the turmoil and tension of another lost cause.

DEFENDS SEGREGATION

(*Continued from page* 134)

manded of Virginia by the Executive and Judicial Departments of the Federal Government that she forsake honor, abandon principle and eschew her loyalty to the Constitution by slavish acceptance of this travesty upon the Constitution, and grace the violated oath with a modicum of decency.

Virginia will not weaken in her allegiance to the compact which forms the basic structure of this "indissoluble union of the indestructible states"; she will not dilute and desecrate her concept of honor; she will not abandon or compromise with principle to have it lost never to be regained.

To those of faint heart; to those whose purpose and design is to blend and amalgamate the white and Negro race and destroy the integrity of both races; to those who disclaim that they are integrationists but are

working day and night to integrate our schools; to those who don't care what happens to the children of Virginia; to those false prophets of a "little or token integration"; to those in high places and elsewhere who advocate integration for your children and send their own to private or public segregated schools; to those who defend or close their eyes to the livid stench of sadism, sex, immorality and juvenile pregnancy infesting the mixed schools of the District of Columbia and elsewhere; to those who would overthrow the customs, mores and traditions of a way of life which has endured in honor and decency for centuries and embrace a new moral code prepared by nine men in Washington whose moral concepts they know nothing about; to those who would substitute strife, bitterness, turmoil and chaos for the tranquility and happiness of an orderly society; to those who would destroy our way of life because of their pretended concern over what Soviet Russia might think of us—to all of these and their confederates, comrades and allies let me make it abundantly clear for the record now and hereafter, as Governor of this State, I will not yield to that which I know to be wrong and will destroy every rational semblance of public education for thousands of the children of Virginia.

STAND FIRM

I call upon the people of Virginia to stand firmly with me in this struggle. Be not dismayed by recent judicial deliverances. I propose to restore the tax revenues of this Commonwealth to the control of the people. They and they alone will decide these issues. United in the common purpose of defending constitutional government and advancing the welfare of our children—with determination more relentless than ever before—we have just begun to fight.

No price is too high to pay; no burden too heavy to bear; no consequence too grave to endure in defense of the right and duty of this Commonwealth to protect the people of Virginia in the proper enjoyment of their right and obligation to mold the character and promote the welfare of their children through the exercise of their voice and judgment in their education and development.

The grave constitutional crisis which has been thrust upon us makes it imperative that our energy, resources and efforts be launched and applied on a state-wide basis. Abandonment of the principles involved anywhere is to forsake them everywhere. The inevitable result will be total engulfment with the progress of dissolution and chaos measured by the combination of forces confederated and arrayed to divide, conquer, rule and ruin.

The people of Virginia through their elected representatives and by registering their convictions in the exercise of their franchise have repeatedly made it crystal clear that they cannot and will not support a system of public education on a racially integrated basis. I make it equally clear that I cannot and that I will not break faith with them.

No parent or guardian is under any legal compulsion from any source to send a child to a racially mixed school. In certain areas af-

fected by adverse federal decrees the people have responded magnificently to the emergency created through the closing of schools. Thousands of our children have adjusted to the situation. The processes of education are being admirably and effectively administered. The hardships and sacrifices have constituted a challenge to overcome obstacles with the result that fundamentally sound educational progress is being made without chaos or undue confusion.

AGONY OF TRYING DAYS

Amid the agony of these trying days I have been heartened and inspired by the profound spirit of dedication and determination of these citizens and their children, as well as the teachers, who have comported themselves so as to reflect immeasurable credit on the highest qualities of patriotic citizenship.

It is my purpose to appoint and convene with all practical expedition a commission composed of members of the General Assembly for the purpose of assessing and evaluating the entire situation in the light of existing conditions. It is my earnest hope and desire that we may be able to formulate a sound and constructive program for submission to a special session of the General Assembly. The problem is not one lending itself to an easy solution. It is most grave and difficult. It will require hard work, patience and a deep sense of dedication.

To prevent the pyramiding of chaos, confusion and disruption, I urgently request that private instruction now obtaining, and wherever it may become necessary, continue and go forward without interruption. I urge the wholehearted co-operation of all concerned to this end. It is my firm belief that to break the chain of continuity in the administering of private instruction and the consequent confusion of a transition which may invoke conditions justifying its termination would be productive of incalculable harm.

I shall not hesitate to use every available and proper means at my command to keep the peace and good order of this Commonwealth. I call upon our people to comport themselves with dignity and restraint to the end that the honor and name of Virginia be not defamed.

I have implicit faith and confidence in the genius of the people to cope with any emergency, and their loyalty and dedication to the preservation of their inherent and inalienable rights. Our cause is sound, right and just. With your unwavering loyalty under the guidance of Almighty God we shall go forward to higher and greater accomplishments.

Governor J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., appointed a forty member commission of legislators on February 4 to develop a long-range school program. The commission was created two days after the Virginia legislature had ended a special session during which the governor had pushed through a program that included steps to limit the scope of school integration. State Senator Mosby G. Perrow, Jr., of Lynchburg was named chairman of the commission, and Delegate Harry B. Davis of Princess Anne County was appointed vice-chairman.

Share for Social Action

THE NAACP CHURCH DEPARTMENT WANTS 1,000 CHURCHES AND OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS TO BE LISTED ON ITS "SHARING FOR SOCIAL ACTION" SCROLL OF HONOR

SHARE in the material responsibilities by working to implement equality of opportunity for all people. Every church can share by contributing $50 or $100 (or more) to the NAACP Freedom Fund.

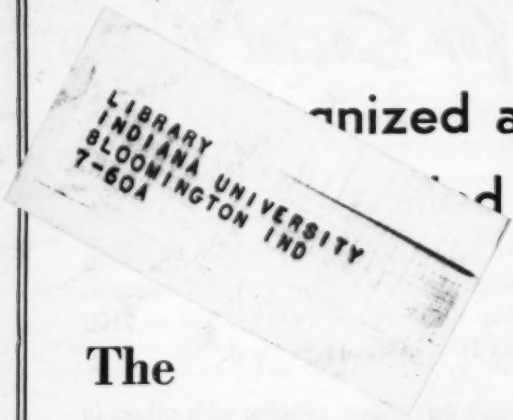
SHARE through a practical concern with others in your community for the improvement of race relations. Join your local NAACP and other interested community agencies in efforts to improve housing, voter registration, schools, health, and job opportunities for members of minority groups. The NAACP Church Department will be a liaison between your group and the "Churches for Freedom" program of your local NAACP branch.

SHARE with others information on problems, plans, and procedures in the area of Christian social action.

For further information, please write:

REV. EDWARD J. ODOM, Jr., NAACP Church Secretary

20 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York



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